2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 824 237 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*). [532] [614] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather patterns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

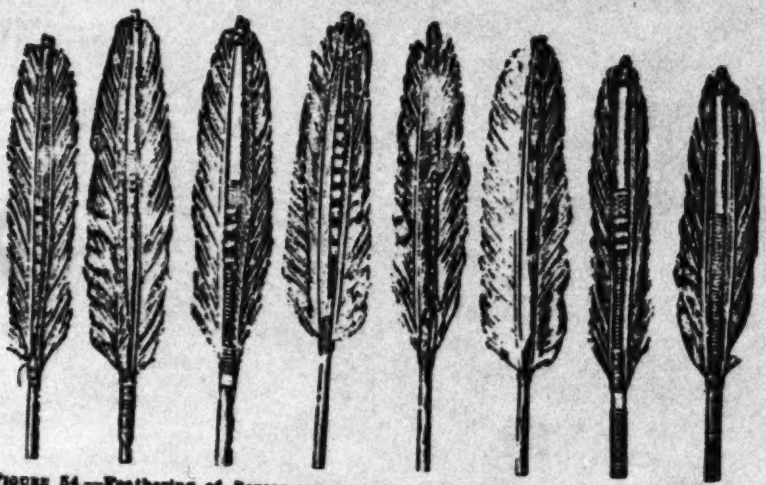

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 824 237 412 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*) wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen [144] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water.

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design.

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers.

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo

ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then divides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter. After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is reflected in the change of terms of address. After the imposition of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

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Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

[P. 38]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SPS Bororo SPS

524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the ap-
[352] plause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each
224 party eating separately.
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533 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after night-fall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The
[532] din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the unearthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them.
583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

437 signs than by words. "*Caiba?*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boé*, sick; *Boé*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth
[281] and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day,
[532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for
[126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with super-
000 stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its *bakororó*, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures. 533 825 151

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune. 533 [224] [514]

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals. 532 224 825

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these primitive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state. 000

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

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one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me. To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imitated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since the man does not understand our language, how can we in this case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the behavior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language, easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
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that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may perhaps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
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natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for drawBO
[224]
ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing, but had already advanced to sedentary farming.

B /248 cont./
*171 circular area. My companions, two Bakaïrí, immediately sat
212 down to rest. I do not know whether a weary wanderer before us
532 who stopped there on his way home from the river so neatly drew the two animals purely for diversion, or because he had just dealt with rays and pakũs, and, frankly, I find it quite immaterial whether the one or the other was the case.

Even more inexplicable as to its exact meaning was the circular figure drawn in the sand, which is shown in Figure 36 and which was found under a beautiful tree approximately half a kilometer from the Mehinakũ village. It was called aturuá
B and was four and a half meters in diameter. When we left the
[533] village accompanied by several men, they made a round inside the circle on either side up to very near the network and sang ka ā ā...; there were also numerous traces of former rounds. Since the men wanted to turn back at this point and spoke of the women, there was probably some reference to the arrival or departure of guests here on the edge of the forest or a quarter of an hour from home. The network of the drawing was turned toward the village. The two curves occur similarly as tattoo patterns and on the outside on the bottom of the large pots of the Mehinakũ (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/). I had copied the figure in my journal a few days before my cousin saw it; there, in place of the small central circle with the two supports, two circles are represented touching each other, the lower one being slightly larger and going over into the network; one might imagine head and body.

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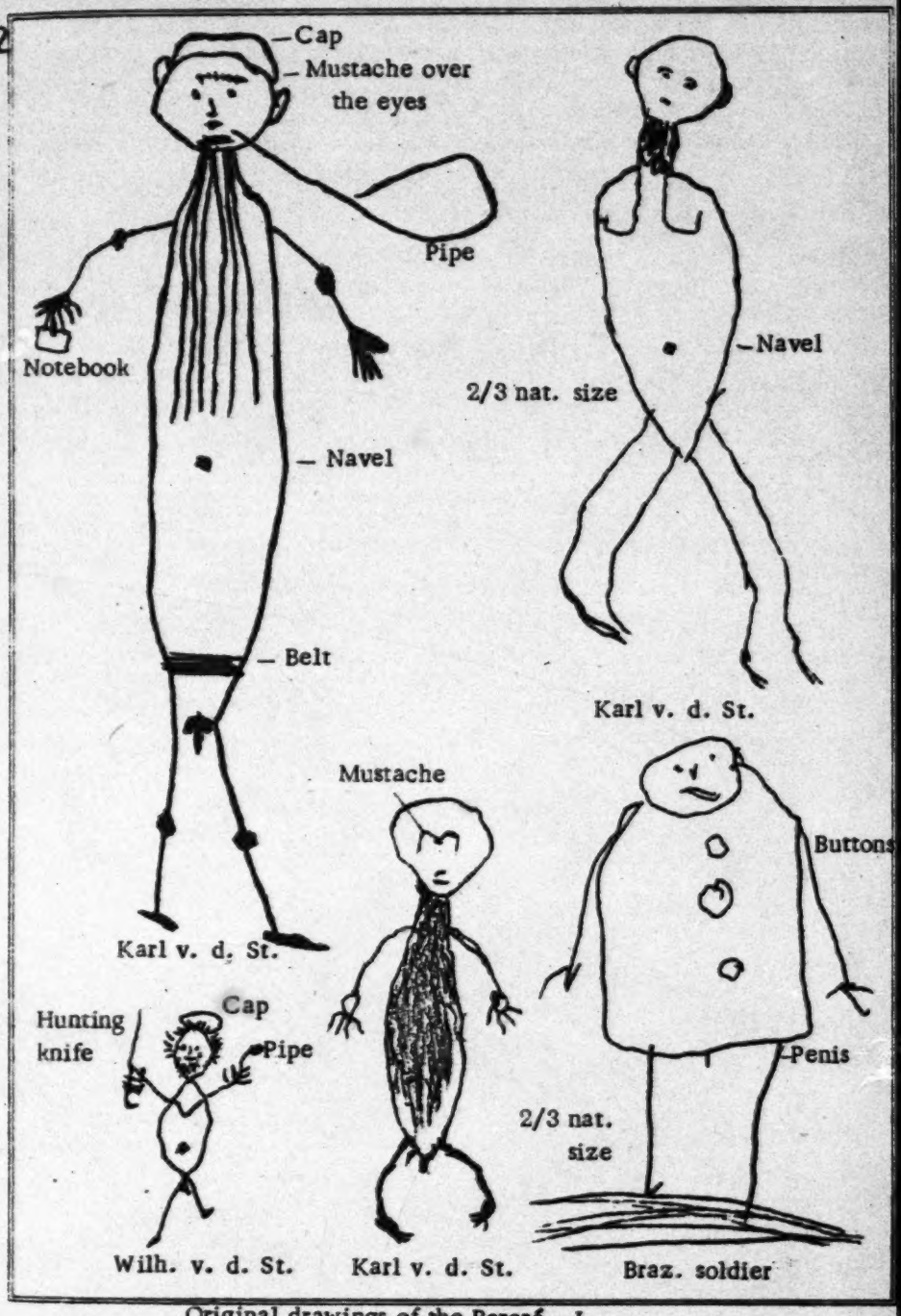
171 The Bororó, whom I am including here, contributed not only
● 532 purely explanatory, but even semi-artistic pictures in the sand, which we /Plates XVI-XIX appear here/ /249/ had no opportunity to see on the Schingũ. In the evening in the moonlight they took special pleasure in drawing hunting animals and hunting scenes in the sand for us. I say "scenes," for their amateurishness did not by any means shrink from a difficult composition. Nor were they content to draw in outlines; with their hands they shoveled the surface sand out of the outline of the animal being represented and filled this depression, shaped, for example, like a jaguar or a tapir, with grayish-white ashes; thus they made the body with its

[Text continues on p. 269]



Original drawings of the Bororó. I.
Nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

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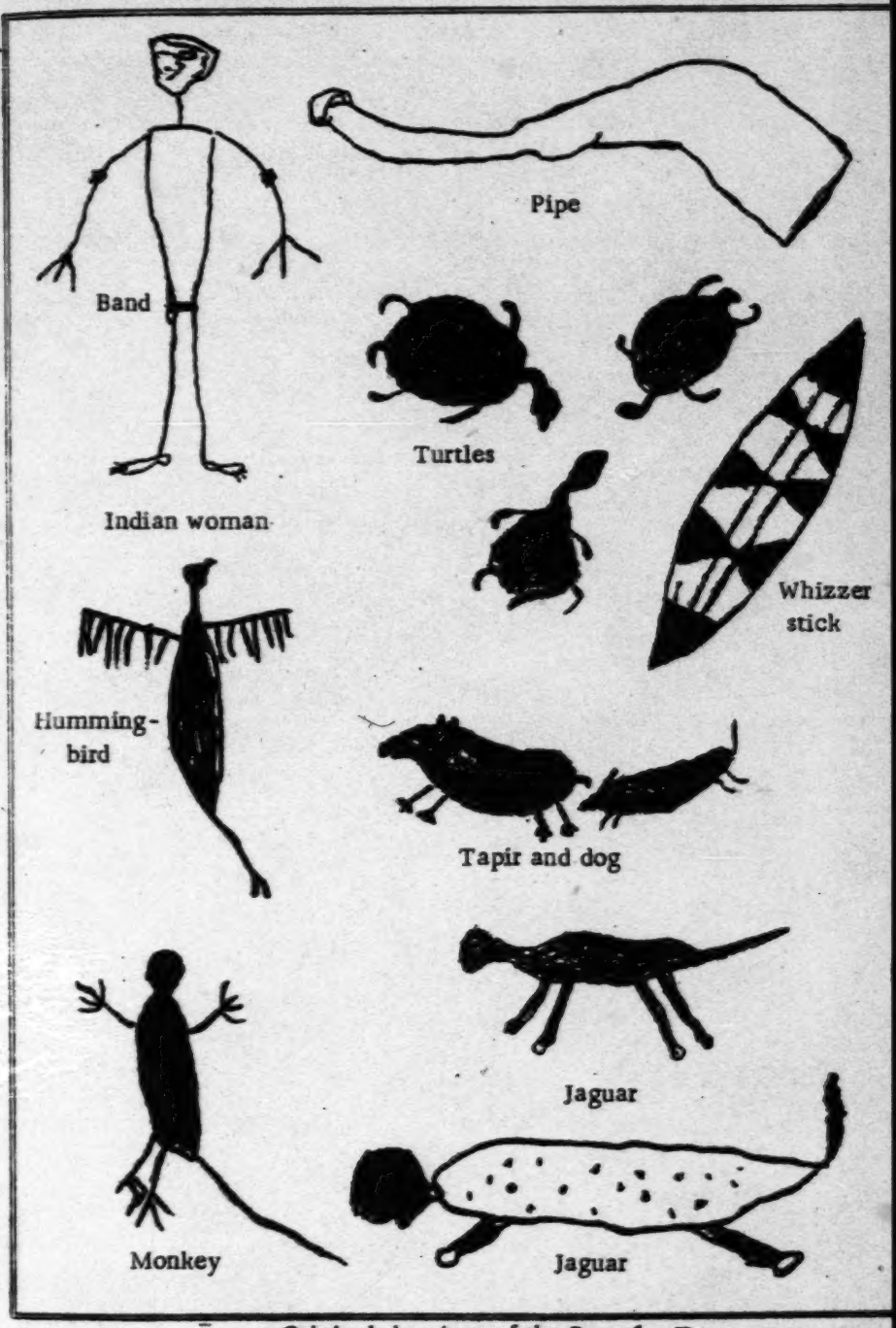

Original drawings of the Bororó. II.
Nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

BO /249 cont./
191 extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and
532 the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with
* 191 pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it;
532 they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously
BO hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their
191 part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-
532 shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time
B we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out
BO to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp.
[126] 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

000 At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, l'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

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On plate I from the Kulisehu,[1] four members of the expedition are standing side by side, a picture from the third Bakaïrí village. In it I am recognizable as the tallest and the one with the longest beard; the second one, my cousin, is characterized by his jaunty little cap, the third is Ehrenreich with a shorter full beard and next to me in body size; the fourth, quite small and delicate, is Lieutenant Perrot to whom a lower rank was imputed because he did not take part in the investigations. Here, as well as with most of the drawings, I performed the test of showing them afterwards to other Indians with the question, who might that be? They identified the persons correctly, hopefully not because of the
BO 171 532 resemblance, but according to the outstanding characteristics. Actually the turtles and the tapir of the Bororó (Bororó II) are quite satisfactory, even for our requirements, whereas the pursuing dog was probably recognizable only because he was the four-legged animal running behind the tapir, which could not be a second tapir because of the tail and the absence of a trunk. Inference per exclusionem must often help out.

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532 /251/ The two likenesses of me done by a Nahuquá (Kulisehu II) are interesting.[2] Strangely enough, the man first drew a horizontal line containing the unbroken shoulder line and the upper arms, put a sort of semicircle on this, two diagonal crossed lines underneath, and handed this worthless picture back to me as finished. I protested, pointing out to him that I was provided with eyes, ears, etc., in the normal fashion, and demanded an entirely new, revised edition, which he, looking me over attentively, then made. He now went to the other extreme and drew, not only more than he saw, but more than he could have seen.

BO 171 532 In similar contrast are the two upper pictures on the Bororó plate I, drawn by two different people: on the right I was born without arms and feet; on the left I appear most lovingly depicted and equipped. Here, besides all my limbs, including -- as likewise in the case of the Indian woman on Bororó II -- knobby joints, I have: cap, pipe, notebook, belt, and shoes. In the same manner, the jolly little fellow below that, my cousin, was

[1] [See p. 265 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 266 -- Analyst]

/251 cont./

BO 171 532 given cap, pipe, and the fine hunting knife. Children, to whom smoking as such seems strange, would have thick smoke coming out of the pipe, but the Indians are interested only in the apparatus. In the corner on the right, the Brazilian soldier was given a uniform with three buttons, that is to say, only the coat, from which emerge the usual lines for arms without sleeves. The armless figure above it is the only one where an attempt was made to do justice to our trousers, even at the expense of the feet.

B *171 ●532 831 The chief attribute of the men, especially in the externally more meagerly equipped portraits on Kulisehu I and II, is the one conferred on them by nature. Here we have the child's standpoint altogether, namely, that it does not matter to the sketcher whether he sees with his eyes what he feels duty-bound to indicate because he knows it is there. For the Indian who goes unclothed, this is the characteristic feature and so he shows it; he even adds it where he expressly draws the clothing, cf. the soldier. Thus, the navel is also often taken into consideration. Indeed, the Nahuquá from whom I demanded completeness (Kulisehu II) did not want to forget even the anus.

B *171 532 BO 171 532 The spatial arrangement is not quite a secondary to the Indians as it is to the youngest children, but strange things are done with it. The fact that the pipe (Bororó I) is put next to the mouth does not mean anything when in the same picture one sees the mustache above the eyes. I would have declared it to be a pair of joined eyebrows, what Goethe calls Rāzel, but I was emphatically informed that the line represents the mustache. The same is true of the small central figure below it. And the Bakaīrí do the same thing with the unfamiliar mustache. On the Kulisehu plate II, lower left, we see the mustache below the cap, which is carelessly cut off from the roundness of the head by a cross line, and the chin beard, separated from it by a large nose, /252/ is kept entirely inside the face. This head is precisely my map of Africa, with the lakes imperturbably put north or south of the Congo and the Nile sources; out of all proportion, the dreadful line of the neck looks like my Isthmus of Suez, and the

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/252 cont./ enormous ear flaps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakaïrí, cf. Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II), by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only for the grossest topography; the beard is indeed connected with the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard, that it belongs elsewhere.

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What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest. The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites attract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries. If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In the case of animals, the outlines are important; not one of those drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/; in the latter case they are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized. The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

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a huge arched back and the long tail, the extremities form a wavy line; the picture was always recognized by others without difficulty as a jaguar. When for all the Bororó animals the faces are simply filled in black, one might attribute this to the drawing style of the sketchers and point out that the rest of the body is treated in the same way, but even the Bakaïrí on the Kulisehu plate I scribbles over the face of his jaguar. The Indian woman, Bororó II, who, of all the figures, shows the best proportions, has a completely scribbled /253/ head. Above the fine beard covering the torso of the center figure at the bottom, Bororo I, eyes, nose, and ears have been forgotten, the legs are stunted into beetle pincers. In none of the five Bakaïrí portraits has the mouth been drawn; none lacks the nose, which the Bakaïrí pierces. On the other hand, for the Bororó, who pierces the lower lip, it cannot happen that he would omit the mouth, whereas he forgot the nose twice.

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The profile position, so popular in the art of children, is absent in the Indian drawings of human beings and invariable in the case of four-legged animals. The former is to be regretted, since there can be no comparison with the cases where children give the profile two eyes and then, when they remember that the nose comes between the eyes, sometimes two noses as well, and furthermore where they attach double arms on the exposed side, since two must, of course, be shown, and so forth. It is to be hoped that these efforts of a childlike mind would by this time be impossible for the Indians. Nevertheless, among the sand drawings, we have to show an example that corresponds exactly to childlike art. The matrincham (Fig. 34 /see p. 263/) has two eyes next to the gill arch; the pakú (Fig. 35 /see p. 263/) in profile is likewise drawn with two eyes. That these are profile positions is shown in the case of the matrincham by the indication of the side line, the gill arch (exactly as in the case of the wooden fish), the fin position, and, finally, as also in the case of the pakú, the tail position. In the case of the ray, the two eyes are justified, since the Indian naturally avoids the problem of drawing it from the side.

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*171 532 80 171 532 On the Kulisehu plate II there is a drawing of an arm tattooing which we observed in Cuyabá on a man of the Tupí tribe of the Apiaká /Apiaca/ living on the upper Tapajoz /Tapajós/, and which I add here parenthetically. Here the two legs are on the same side, exactly as in the case of children's drawings of "riders on horseback." The legs of the horse are placed one behind the other, exactly like those of the jaguar, Bororó II. The animal's long ears are handsome.

Why are all human beings drawn en face, all four-footed animals in profile? The reason can only be that in the case of the former the outline was given indifferently as self-evident, and the characterization of the details, to be distributed on two sides or to be judged better in their full extent from the front, was decisive; in the case of the latter, the outline more easily characterized in profile. The monkey on Bororó II, with legs and tail in profile, shows the arms symmetrically, but might have been conceived with the upper part of the body turned forward. The jaguar with the spotted fur was drawn by a man who was obviously aware of the fact that the animal has only two legs on one side: he omitted the legs on the right side.

The proportions are deficient. The pipe and notebook of the principal figure on Bororó were actually in the reverse size-proportions. The artist was in no way disturbed by the fact that the relationship between the torso and the extremities was like that of a lizard propped upright. The disproportion of /254/ the Nahuquá portrait on the Kulisehu plate II is also charming. Whereas the neck often resembles a pole, here, as in the case of Perrot, Kulisehu I, the shoulder line runs across the mouth region. It is five times as wide as the width of the hips, which, in the first version next to it, shrinks to a point. The legs always come out worst of all. In the most extreme deformity, Kulisehu II, bottom left, they are absent, to judge from the position of the sexualia, and the toes are attached to the torso. If only this one portrait was presented, one might explain the long lines on the sides as legs originating at shoulder height, but, strangely enough, in all the Kulisehu portraits, the torso is not closed off at the

/254 cont./

bottom, indeed not even the head in my portrait and Wilhelm's, Kulisehu I! Only the Nahuquá treats the body as a triangle, at least in his first version. The lateral contours of the torso veer out at an angle without converging -- in the case of Wilhelm, Kulisehu I, almost horizontally -- and after extending a short distance, without knee, without foot, are finished off on either side with a little line, and these three-toed chicken legs are then human legs, my legs. "You resemble the spirit you comprehend, not me!" /Translator's note: this is a quotation from Faust./ Besides being short, the legs are usually also unequal, even where the torso is closed off, cf. jolly Wilhelm, Bororó I.

The number of fingers and toes deserves special attention. If one of us who is a hunter should sketch a stag's head, he will be careful to provide it with antlers of a particular shape, whatever he happens to have in his mind's eye. Another person, however, will pay scarcely any attention to whether there are more or fewer prongs, not even if he is superficially copying an original before him; he will be content if he has put on the head a number of prongs in a very questionable arrangement of branches. The only thing is, it will not satisfy his idea of stag antlers to draw two forks, he will put down at least three prongs each. Similarly, if I make a schematic drawing of a little fir tree, my minimum will be three pairs of symmetrical diagonal lines on a vertical line, the whole finished off at the bottom with a horizontal line; two pairs would indeed make a little tree, but not a little fir tree. Thus, even without counting, I will supply a minimum of components, in accordance with my inner perception. Our children, who are drilled early in the five of the fingers, will take it into account even in drawings which otherwise contain the grossest sins, and even before they think of reproducing the hand, they will correctly draw five fingers. In the case of the drawings of primitive peoples, we encounter an uncertainty about the number of fingers, and especially three fingers, with such regularity that we must recognize a law here, as in the case of the stag antlers and the fir tree. They undoubtedly did not count 1, 2, 3, and the only thing that can be at the basis of it is that

/254 cont./

000 they feel impelled to put in more than two lines, in order to define their vague inner conception at least to the extent that a bifurcation does not result.

B /255/ If we consider the five Bakaïrí portraits, we have, if
*171 we put the number of fingers in the numerator and the number of
532 toes in the denominator, the following relationships: $\frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}, \frac{5\ 3}{3\ 3}, \frac{5\ 5}{3\ 3}, \frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}$ (Kulisehu I) and $\frac{4\ 5}{3\ 4}$ (Kulisehu II). I had them show me on my hand which fingers they had drawn; they took hold of my thumb, little finger, and middle finger and pointed to the corresponding lines in such a way that the little finger was the one in the center of the three which, in my portrait, happened to be the longest in the group of four. Ehrenreich is provided with two five-fingered arms, Wilhelm at least with one such arm. The lower extremities have three toes, with the exception of my portrait, Kulisehu II, where four are present on one side. On the same plate, the Nahuquá, after his first effort had been criticized, drew the correct number of fingers in the second, not from memory, to be sure, but with careful contemplation of the insulted original.

BO Among the Bororó we find on plate I, aside from the armless
171 portrait of me, Wilhelm with five fingers on each arm, the
● 532 soldier with three on each arm, and similarly on plate II the Indian woman with three fingers. As for the rest, there is great progress to be seen here. Not only elbows and knee-joints appear in the form of thick knots, but also hands and feet. In the classic picture showing me with pipe and notebook, touching care has been devoted to the left thumb, which has been joined to the hand in a thick mass; on the right hand we note, to our surprise, seven fingers, but find a perfect explanation in the fact that the two extra fingers must grasp the little book; the legs are standing on shoes, as are Wilhelm's below. The soldier has been planted in the ground, with two lines for legs. The center figure next to him has most peculiar hands and feet, but at least it has some; they are extraordinarily reminiscent of the blood-sucking ticks. One also notes here a tendency to give the

/255 cont./

BO 171 532 extremities a second dimension. The feet of the Indian woman, Bororó II, an amusing contrast to the absent hands, are drawn in excellent outline and in good horizontal position; one might take them for shoes if three toes, not unlike short hairs, were not planted in them.

Of the animal pictures, only among the Bororó do the tapir and monkey have jointed feet. The jaguar legs end in round knobs -- cat paws. The tail is always featured; only in the case of the spotted jaguar may one reasonably wonder about the bushy stump. In the case of the flying hummingbird, whose legs are missing and indeed may be missing, we see a long and divided tail, such as more commonly occurs for this species.

B *171 532 Bark drawings. Rather seldom, except among the Nahuquá, where they were numerous, were human figures found carved in trees, that is to say, incised in outline or with the surface peeled out of the bark, along the forest path leading from the river to the village. They were, as far as /256/ /Figs. 37 and 38 appear here/ I remember, exclusively men in 1887; in 1884, however, we found a male figure above a female one in front of the first Batovy village of the Bakaïrí and a female figure in front of the second one, "with roguish utilization of a depression present in the bark." In the accompanying bark figure of the Bakaïrí /see p. 279/, a great advance has been made by means of the surface cutting in comparison with the line drawings. Where the fingers were clearly worked out, they corresponded exactly to the three of the pencil drawings; the toes, on the other hand, were never treated more accurately. The legs ran down shapelessly, like stockings. We were particularly struck by the tree figures along the forest path of the Nahuquá; they had formations resembling donkey ears, but somewhat longer, on either side of the head, which represented ear feathers. There was also one or another animal figure. If I add to this the fact that there were human figures carved on the huge hollow drum-tree lying in front of the festival hut of the third Bakaïrí village, there follows the noteworthy fact that the use of the human figure in the art of drawing was present only on trees. The pencil drawings were done at my request.

B [534]

B /279 cont./
285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the
Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made
up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves
quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
B little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
[237] other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the
[136] large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
[412] natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly
similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
B pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the
* [171] Auetŏ a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones."
It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the
one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it
represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate,
would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about
it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually
it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal;
then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear
here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed
animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks
on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary
or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations
on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which
the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see
in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the
hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind
the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another
tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

BO Inasmuch as I considered the Bororŏ in connection with
285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
● 532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororŏ woman," that is to say, it is

/280 cont./

nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

The straw figures of the Bakaïrí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

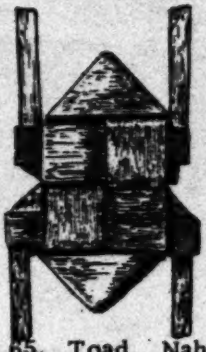

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

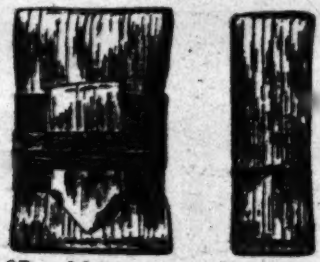

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaïrí village on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/500 cont./ One day the men permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.